

# BRITISH COLUMBIA AND HER IMPERIAL OUTLOOK

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## BRITISH COLUMBIA AND HER IMPERIAL OUTLOOK.\*

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A FORTNIGHT before I left Vancouver, at the beginning of the Christmas holidays, a tree was discovered in Stanley Park larger than the famous cedar on the Pacific side where it is the fashion to back your motor car into the hollow of it and get your picture taken. This park is already fifteen years old, but quite rudely shaken up is that belief we entertained that we had found the largest tree in this most wonderful park in the world. I am quite sure that there are some of the *gentlemen* present who will be able to remember as far back as thirty years, at which time the site now occupied by the city of Vancouver was itself forest primeval. I have not mentioned this incident because it makes so much difference as to whether we have a still bigger tree in Stanley Park, but that it shows not only how very new we are and how little we know of that vaster park of the Empire we call British Columbia, with its area of 395,000 square miles, with ten times the arable land of the Japanese Empire. Surely, as the ages of nations may be reckoned, we are very young, and very new and, perhaps, in some respects, somewhat raw. But I am not afraid but that in some ways we can give an account of ourselves. We have not done much as yet in science or literature or art, and perhaps what little some have done in the way of the humanities is not too deeply appreciated by the rest of us in the big first-hand struggle with elemental things. But we may content ourselves to say with Themistocles "I never learned how to tune a harp or play a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

I am about to consider British Columbia, not as the remotest Province of a far-away Dominion, but as the British Empire on the North Pacific.

To paraphrase a well-known, and perhaps well-worn, aphorism: The twentieth century is the Pacific Ocean's century.

Meagre still is the comparative record of great achievement connected with that weary waste of 70,000,000 square miles of water, larger than all the land surface of the globe, with a volume of water six times as large as the cubical contents of all the land of the earth above sea level, and known as the Pacific Ocean, and thought of as a peaceful and friendly sea. But it is likely that the future epic of the planet will be written on some unpacific coast and of some unpacific hereafter, for all signs point to Armageddon, afloat or ashore, in any event identified with this las

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and largest of the world's Mediterraneans—scene of final struggle between the institutions and ideals of the East and the ideals and institutions of the West.

The real question raised in such a discussion, and the one which will be met frankly is, plainly : What part is British civilisation to play in the world-revolution in process around its shores ? And this, of course, is only a part of the larger question of the White Man's Burden, which does not refer to those remote problems of physics, as to the relation between certain rays of light and the epidermis of the individuals of a race, but something far beneath it and otherwise far deeper. It is a question of race message, race mission, and race destiny—nothing less.

The problem of the New Pacific outlook is race conflict. Disguise it how we may, conceal the fateful issues if we will, juggle with ugly facts and stifle friendly warnings, and cover our cowardice under a sentimental *cosmopolitanism* as the Germans might call it, or under a cosmopolitan *sentimentalism* as they do call it—this misshapen and persistent fact protrudes through all our shams : the problem of the new era is the problem of the New Pacific and New Asia, and the problem of the New Pacific and New Asia is that of the struggle of the white and yellow peoples for world supremacy.

Fortunately there is still a goodly sprinkling of old-fashioned folk clinging to the belief that by far the greatest achievement of mind and will in the history of the world has been the pre-emption and development of so many of the continental areas of the temperate zone by the Anglo-Saxon race, and the establishment there of its racial root ideas and ideals. But to-day not only is our supremacy challenged, not only is our advance disputed, but our very race fibre is flouted when even the question is raised as to whether we are equal to the expectations of our forbears—whether we have the sense to keep what they had the nerve to get.

To begin with, I wish to say that in the large outlines in which we shall have to consider such a subject no progress can be made until we understand that the issues of the New World era are bound up in the proposition that when we speak of Greater Britain we must speak of the whole English-speaking race ; and I will go further in saying that no headway can be made toward the continuance of the white man's supremacy upon the earth until that entire race is not only considered as a unit, but in some substantial way will act as a unit in the championship of the ideals which have made it what it is. And with this race must be affiliated the other races which are of vital kin, whether of bone and blood or of political institutions and religious principles.

There are several great factors in our Imperial outlook. Two of these I shall have time to discuss briefly, while two more will call for but a suggestive outline. The two factors I wish to speak of are the Panama Canal and the awakening of Asia, and both of these demand the further consideration of the Imperial problems of defence and of migration.

We cannot go far in the understanding of our subject without first considering the most important influences which are to determine our future on the Anglo-Saxon frontier where I belong. Plainly the most important are the two geographical events now in process of changing the face of the world and the maps of the world and all the relations of the inhabitants thereof. I speak of the cutting of the Panama Canal and the awakening of Asia, which I heard Professor Herbertson say at the School of Geography at Oxford two years ago would exercise a profounder influence upon the destinies of mankind than the discovery of America by Columbus. The cutting of the Canal, in comparison with the awakening of half the human race and

its adoption of Western civilisation, is a matter of only secondary importance. It is one, however, which is bound to hasten the other and greater movement, probably to speedy world catastrophe.

The artificial bisection of a hemisphere is by itself no secondary performance. Indeed it is a geographical event of the first magnitude. We are about to see the projection of the Pacific coast line through the hemisphere into the Atlantic Ocean—a project fraught with untold interest because it will revolutionise some aspects of the world's commerce and change fundamentally certain elemental economic conditions upon which rest the great movements of world politics. There is no part of the world which will be influenced more profoundly by the new movements on the Pacific Ocean than British Columbia, and Canada and the Empire through British Columbia.

Let us glance at some of the bearings of the Panama Canal in our world outlook. Look for a moment at the outlines of all this change and what it is destined to mean. Take your map of the Western Hemisphere. Draw your lines from New York to Valparaiso; from Victoria to New York; from Liverpool to Yokohama. Make Panama the hub of your commercial wheel. Number the trade routes which centre there to diverge again. You will see at a glance that not only is a new day dawning for Central America and for the north of South, and for the west coast of North America, but for some far-away lands as well. You will see new trade routes which the logic of events will lay out where never before they had been possible. Here is a brand-new ocean waterway to be. It will bring the Hudson and the Mississippi, the Orinoco and the Amazon but little more than a possible week's sail from the Pacific Ocean; and it will bring the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean Sea, with their many seaports and with their vast resources, within a few days of it. The mouth of the Mississippi (and that means an increasing share of the trade from the largest and economically most important single area in the world—the great interior plain of North America in both the United States and Canada) will for purposes of commerce be brought 581 miles nearer Valparaiso, Shanghai and Vancouver, Sydney and Wellington, Melbourne and Honolulu. Jamaica and the British Possessions of the West Indies will be thrown across the very highways of world commerce and world progress. The whole shipping from Boston and New York to British Columbian ports will be shortened by 8,415 miles; from Victoria to Liverpool by 6,046 miles. At the present time British Columbian vessels sail but little further going to Liverpool than to New York, because they must sail round the easternmost point of Brazil, Pernambuco, which is almost equidistant from these two ports on either side the Atlantic. But Colon on the Canal is 4,720 miles from Liverpool and but 1,961 miles from New York—a commercial advantage of 2,759 miles in favour of the United States—if she only had ships. This Canal is making it more than ever evident that the future belongs to those nations with adequate navies and mercantile marines; and this means that the big ditch is being built in some spasm of blind optimism out of the subconscious altruism of the people of the United States for the benefit of Europe and Japan—and British Columbia. Against this fact it may be urged that little benefit will accrue to the Philippines, whose capital is now by way of Suez 11,601 miles, and by way of Panama will be 11,585 miles from New York. The Panama Canal will shorten the distance between the American metropolis and the capital of the Philippines by just sixteen miles.

The Isthmian Canal is but a part of the Greater American Waterways Project. As soon as this is finished it is possible that the United States will start in a large way



with the project of the artificial canalisation of the Mississippi with its 16,000 miles of already navigable waters and a drainage basin of 1,280,000 square miles. The cutting-through of an ocean ship-canal to the Great Lakes will make seaport towns of the Canadian cities on the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Superior. The Saskatchewan and the Red River can be canalised for 1,000 miles; and a short haul from Winnipeg will open the whole Saskatchewan valley from near the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains—down stream, but for this short portage—all the way to the Gulf of Mexico and thence to Panama and the Pacific ports. Every transcontinental freight-rate in Canada and the United States will be reduced, and perhaps some in the middle interior. As this great southern movement starts up, the industries of the southern States will receive a new impetus. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea will spring into a new life, together with the West Indies and Central America and the vast and fertile interior drained by the Orinoco and the Amazon.

It is an extraordinary fact that, economically, the two most important river basins in the world lie in the smaller or Western Hemisphere: the Mississippi, which discharges more water than all the rivers which drain Europe; the Amazon, discharging more water than the eight great rivers which drain Asia—the Yenisei, Indus, Ganges, Ob, Lena, Amur, Hwang-ho, and the Yangtze-kiang. The navigable waters of the Amazon are 45,000 miles, with a depth of from 40 to 150 feet, a width of 6 to 40 miles—400 at its mouth, while ocean-going steamships, sailing 3,000 miles from European ports to the mouth of the Amazon, can sail 230 miles more up that river to Peru. All this will open new trade-worlds to the harbours of British Columbia.

It will be seen that beyond peradventure a goodly part of the future history of the world is to be written of those countries around and within the Pacific Ocean, and that the sum total of economic value to the world's shipping which will be created by the Panama Canal will be something quite beyond any human foresight or computation. All of this means that incredible riches are destined to flow into and be developed in those countries occupying the western coast of North America, which have good harbours, good docking facilities, good defences, a good mercantile marine, and an adequate navy. But most of the good harbours on the North American coast are in British Columbia. Harbours there seem to have been Nature's first intent. They are innumerable and unsurpassable.

Long, deep fiords cleave the Continent, often for nearly a 100 miles, in the partially submerged transverse valleys which cut the coast-range. These likewise have their arms reaching among the hills, and, indeed, if the fancy be permitted, all the members of a centipede. Lying along that marvellous coast are land-locked harbours and nooks and corners and cubby-holes and cul-de-sacs afloat where all the navies of the world might be hidden away from everything but an All-seeing Scrutiny.

To all intents and purposes these inlets and inland channels and waterways are as navigable rivers. Back of them, the stream and waterfall and glacier; behind these, inexhaustible resources of Nature awaiting the call of industry.

Indeed, practically the whole 7,000-mile coast of the mainland, excepting possibly 100 miles, is one vast land-locked harbour, and the islands will furnish more when wanted. And every mile of this coast-line is related to the Panama Canal, New Asia, and the New Pacific.

The Canal is turning attention to our harbours as outlets for the increasing output of grain from the western half of the Canadian prairies. It is said that freight-rates between Liverpool and Vancouver across Continent will be materially diminished;

also by way of Panama, which will halve the distance of the Suez route; and also by reason of the larger competition to be developed. It will practically halve the present freight-rate between Vancouver and the ports of the British Isles. We can now consider Vancouver as an outlet toward Europe and the Atlantic coast for Alberta wheat. Even now, with the present excessive rates over the Rockies, wheat may be shipped in winter from Calgary to Liverpool more cheaply than by the all-rail route to St. John, New Brunswick. The winter rates to Liverpool are four-tenths of a cent per bushel in favour of Vancouver from Calgary. The Eastern route is blocked by ice five months in the year. The British Columbia route is open twelve months in the year. The Panama Canal will give the decided advantage to Vancouver all the year round. From Calgary to the head of navigation on Lake Superior (Fort William) is 1,260 miles. From Calgary to the Port of Vancouver is 644 miles. It is now generally believed in the West by the shipping people that Vancouver will be the shipping port for the wheat of Alberta and western Saskatchewan destined for Europe and the southern States.

New markets will be found on the Atlantic for British Columbia lumber and paper. This new large demand will increase the price. But the saving of freight is an enormous item. The present freight-rates from Vancouver to Liverpool are sixteen dollars per 1,000 feet. The Canal will give British Columbia a rate of about eight dollars per 1,000 feet. This difference per 1,000 will add to the value of British Columbia timber destined for Europe. But it is for more reasons than this that British Columbia is destined to be a vast Imperial industrial workshop. While her agricultural and horticultural possibilities are far beyond what is generally supposed, British Columbia is in natural resources and raw materials of industry one of the richest areas on the globe. But above all is she rich in mechanical power—water-power and coal. These are about to be opened up and developed. Their development soon will be beyond computation, for, roughly speaking, there is not an investment in British Columbia to-day which will not be directly increased in value by the new Canal; but also much indirectly in the impetus given to development. This one thing—this Canal—costing us nothing—will double, quadruple and quintuple values out there in a few brief years. With easier access will come new trade, and new demands will create new products, and soon the innumerable water-powers of British Columbia will start the wheels of a thousand new industries. The illimitable resources of the Province will be opened up, developed, and utilised at home or shipped abroad. The value of every town lot and of every acre of land of the 395,000 square miles of the Province will be greatly enhanced; town sites will be hewed out of the forests, and the forests themselves—every stick of wood of their 182,000,000 acres of forest and woodland—will be increased in value directly, by reason of cheaper shipping alone, to the extent of several dollars per 1,000 feet; and in the items of lumber and wood-pulp alone the Panama Canal will make as a free gift to British Columbia considerably more than the United States is spending on the whole Canal.

The mines of British Columbia, which have already produced over £70,000,000, will leap forward with renewed prosperity. Her fisheries, which have produced £21,000,000, will be more extensively developed and, let us hope, be made again a British asset—ince they are wholly in the hands of the Japanese who not only send their earnings home to Japan but are criminally wasteful in their methods. The coal deposits of the Province, which promise to be the most extensive in the world, will, with immense deposits of iron, be opened to the world's markets. It is said that the coal-fields of one small district in the Kootenay are capable of yielding 10,000,000

tons of coal a year for over 7,000 years, and a new district has been discovered within a twelvemonth which the provincial mineralogist told me on Christmas Eve was the most important economic discovery ever made in British Columbia, where there are known to be 1,000 square miles of the best of anthracite and which is probably the richest known anthracite district in the New World west of Pennsylvania.

I have mentioned these few brief illustrations, but by them I cannot give you any adequate idea of what economically alone the opening up of British Columbia will mean to the British Empire—that is, provided it remains in the Empire. Is it not your task and mine to see that it remains a part of the British Empire? This is a part of the great Pacific question. The country is menaced in two directions. We Anglo-Saxons have been too comfortably esconced in the luxuries of the *status quo*. British Columbia is threatened by American ownership and Asiatic overflow. Just here it is not amiss for me to say a word about the Imperial aspect of British investments.

Much the greater part of the wealth of the Canadian Cordilleran region belongs to British Columbia, and it is a part of my duty to say to a British audience that the economic possibilities and opportunities for investment and development in British Columbia are simply incredible. We must remember that this wonderful Province is in its infancy and that its entire population — but a trifle larger than that of Birmingham. I have travelled as far as five hundred miles through the northern interior between one white man and the next one. Is it to be supposed that a fraction of one per cent. of its unimagined wealth has been discovered?

British Columbia is a vast neglected opportunity. You have no idea of the wealth which is being alienated to the more alert and appreciative Yankee. He at least is alive to the opportunities of the New World. It does not matter so much that you are willing to sit here waiting for 4 per cent.—if you like that sort of thing—and where your money is doing nothing particularly toward the building of Empire. If it does not interest you that so many Americans are doubling their money in a year—two years—in British Columbia, there is a political aspect of this matter which some day will interest you.

You no doubt have been congratulating yourselves upon a narrow escape from Americanisation in a recent vote on reciprocity. The dangers of the Americanisation of Canada do not lie so much in a freer trade between north and south of the American Continent as in the matter of *who owns Canada*. The peril does not lie in trade but in ownership, for you may rest assured that the people who own a country will rule it.

The Yankee is not the only one who has discovered British Columbia, but Great Britain is about the only country which has not. Alas, even the Asiatic has found us out. And this means that we are face to face with a new peril of no uncertain magnitude.

The one all-absorbing movement of the world to-day is Asia *redivivus*, the immediate issues of which are involved in the Japanese programme. Let no one think that it will be less alarming when China has found her programme. But that is another question for another day.

The vital world-issue of to-day, now especially on the Pacific, is the Japanese programme of Asiatic Imperialism.

*Asia and the American Hemisphere and the Pacific Ocean for the Japanese.*

This is no less than the ansconda ambition which is being crystallised in the Orient with unprecedented and sinister dispatch and is being carried forward with a celerity unknown in modern times. It is not necessary, but it is not amiss, to say here that all



of us sympathise heartily with the race ambitions of any great people—and the Chinese and Japanese are great peoples. It is because they are so great that we no longer dare consider them negligible. Their splendid qualities make them formidable opponents in peace or war. Their very efficiency is the menace we face. Who has not been moved to something more than admiration by the lofty patriotism of the Japanese? And who has not felt the ache of sorrow that we Anglo-Saxons do not seem to be able to emulate them? Let me say at once that if I entertain anything like blame, it is not that the Japanese want all they can get in that New World into which nationality has awakened so late. We have wanted much in our time—and we got it, too. But that does not mean that we must approve of either their method or their spirit; nor does it mean that we have no more ambitions, no rights of our own in the new era of this New World.

At this point I must bid adieu to all cosmopolitan sentiment, and fall back on the more selfish and neglected virtues of patriotism. Frankly I am for my own race and kin and the ideals and institutions of my own race and kin; and I am against the man who is not. I am not inclined to apologise for it—but for those who are. These considerations lead me to recognise the indubitable fact that, in all the great world issues of the twentieth century, the fundamental and unchanging dividing line lies between the peoples of the East and the peoples of the West. For "East is East and West is West."

And East and West are separated by more than the widest ocean. When the Psalmist long ago tried to give penitent sinners some faint idea as to how far the Lord would remove their transgressions from them, he spoke of that remotest and most unimaginable distance: "As far as the east is from the west."

"And never the twain shall meet."

Surely never the twain shall mix. It is our profound and sincere desire in British Columbia to live in peace and concord with our neighbours across the Pacific. But my contention is that this result most surely may be brought about if we refrain from any attempt to colonise Japan, and if Japan refrains from any further encroachment on the American Hemisphere.

Every self-governing Colony entertains the reasonable desire that its immigrants should be such as can be welded into a homogeneous political and economic and, above all, social unit. It has the right to deny access to an alien and unassimilable race.

So long as Asiatic immigration was confined to a few individuals who scattered themselves over a large area, offering competition to very little labour, except the hand laundry, there was no particular problem. But when these people settled down in solid phalanxes of 10,000 or more at a time and place, and became undigested and indigestible lumps in the political ventricle, the case called for scientific diagnosis. This thing is happening, and in the language of periods and nations, all at once, in many quarters of the Empire. Suddenly the results of Asiatic immigration into different parts of the white world are presenting new problems to be solved.

It is plain, too, that one of the numbers in the new Japanese world programme is the occupation of British Columbia. Our Province is becoming Orientalised, and one of our important questions is whether it is to remain a British province or become an Oriental colony—for we have three races demanding seats in our drawing-room as well as plates at our board—the Japanese, Chinese, and East Indian.

According to a report of the Assessment Commissioner several years ago (I have

no later figures), nearly an eighth of the population of Vancouver was Oriental, with that of the New Westminster district larger. But the Orientals are practically all male adults. If they had their families with them their numbers would have been about five times as great, and this would represent permanent population; and this would have given over half the population of Vancouver as Oriental, while giving one Oriental male adult to every three and a half whites of the male adult population of the Province. Ten years ago the fisheries of British Columbia were in the hands of about 10,000 native Canadians of British Columbia. Now there are 10,500 Japanese and hardly a white man in the trade.

It is hardly more than a significant coincidence, or perhaps an accident, that the fifty-dollar prize offered by the Grand Trunk Pacific for the first child born in Prince Rupert has been given to a Japanese.

The first principle of sound Imperial politics and sound Canadian patriotism is that our fertile areas of incomparable promise be never surrendered as a dump-heap for the overflowing population of a hundred millions over half the human race. To open once the gates to these nameless hordes is to be lost—these ominous hundreds of yellow millions, these countless alien numbers to whom there is no end!

But if Canada surrenders her choicest possessions to a race which in coming will bring nothing to her, but take everything away—bring nothing but an element of ineradicable and eternal discord—leave nothing but the impossibility of a homogeneous people—that will be Canada's fault as well as yours, and all the aeons of future ages can never rectify it, nor will they ever forgive it.

It is impossible to over-estimate the momentous nature of this issue—first, to British Columbia to whom it is so immediately a vital issue; second, to Canada—which Japan is coolly occupying unbidden and unwelcome—Canada, a prey to the disloyalty of a few unpatriotic manufacturers and corporations, which will have cheap labour at the price of Canadian homogeneity; third, to Great Britain—which has given away without recompense her position and prestige in the Pacific and the twentieth century—is giving away her commerce and shipping in China and allowing the loyalty of India to be undermined—giving away the Pacific gateways of Canada of which she and Canada will some day have need, whose key she is just now handing over to Japan.

Over and above all this, Japan is pursuing an unreasonable programme and plainly it is one we cannot accept. Not satisfied with having absorbed the whole Western civilisation, which she has had no part in creating, and which she is using to drive the Westerner out of Asia, she now crosses the Pacific and demands on our own shores what she denies us on her own. She is working feverishly towards a policy of Pan-Asiatic imperialism and exclusion while she is laying claim to equal rights with the white man in his own white world. She has decided that white competition shall be driven out of Asia and off the Pacific, but she has already driven the yellow wedge in many places into the American Hemisphere from Alaska to Cape Horn. She denies all foreigners the rights of land tenure in Japan and yet she demands the right of the Japanese to own land on the Western Hemisphere, and they do own already large tracts of the best land on the North American Continent. Allowing neither an American nor Canadian to own an acre of soil in the Japanese Empire, except possibly in a restricted way in a few treaty ports, she demands that the vast areas of opportunity on the Western Hemisphere shall be thrown wide open to Japanese pre-emption and colonisation. While Japan is crowding every white man, as far as possible, and every white interest off the continent of Asia and the islands of her Empire, she

unreasonably proposes, whether we will or no, to take the ground we walk on, the fields we till, the waters we fish, the mines we dig, the forests we cut, and the very earth in which we bury our dead. Japan will not allow a foreigner to own or even work a mine in Japan, but she unreasonably demands for the Japanese the right to work in the mines and to own and exploit the mines of Canada and the United States—one small syndicate of coolies having now possession of a copper mine in British Columbia worth nearly a million pounds. She allows no foreigners to engage in fisheries in Japanese waters, but she demands the right of the Japanese to fish in American and Canadian waters; and, as a consequence, all the fisheries of British Columbia, which are 30 per cent. of the fisheries of Canada, which are the largest and most profitable in the world, are now wholly in Japanese hands, yielding 10,500 Japanese labourers from £100 to £600 a year apiece, the most of which is sent in cash to Japan, and alienated from the British Empire for ever. It is a well-known fact that Japan will not tolerate our workmen on her soil except those skilled labourers we have been simple enough to send over to teach Japanese coolies how to make goods cheaper than we can make them. There is not a nation in the world which would resent more quickly and more efficiently any such sweeping influx of foreigners as she demands that we gracefully accept from her; but she continues to pour cheap labour into the Western Hemisphere and proceeds to raise a hue and cry if we object, notwithstanding the fact that wherever the Japanese labour market is congested—and that is everywhere in Japan—she does not hesitate a moment to exclude an element so undesirable. She does this in the interests of the Japanese and frankly states it. But if another nation in its own interest declines Japanese labour, Japan objects with a half-veiled threat of an arbitrament of arms. Japan is gradually taxing, or legislating, or expropriating every Western interest out of Japan, Korea and Manchuria, and as far as possible out of China, but she demands equal rights and opportunities for the Japanese workman, merchant, financier, farmer, in the business opportunities and potential wealth of the New World, and more—those safeguards and protections which the Japanese themselves cannot grant to their own people on their own soil—equal rights in the privileges of an Anglo-Saxon democracy. If Japan wants something on the American Continent, Canada and the United States must give it. If Canada and the United States want something in Japan, Korea or Manchuria, it is inimicable to the interests of Japan and they cannot have it. Whatever is prejudicial to the interests or the pride of Japan must be yielded by Canadians and Americans. Whatever is prejudicial to the interests of Americans and Canadians must be accepted because of the imperious demands of Japanese pride and national interest, and the power of Japanese warships. If any foreign people want equal rights and opportunities, economic or political, in the Japanese Empire, Japan utters an emphatic and peremptory "NO." But if Canada and the United States dare indulge the desire to refuse to share their incomparable heritage with the impecunious and appalling overflow of Oriental millions, Japan says to us "Come now, this is none of your affair. We will legislate on this subject in T. Uo and our legislators shall decide how much of your homeland and your vast wealth we want and how much we propose to have. You shall have nothing to say further than is compatible with our interests and our dignity as a State; and we are putting half of our Imperial budget, which is mostly your money, and as much more of your money as you are simple enough to loan us, into the cunning instruments of destruction you have been good enough to show us how to make and furnish the capital to make them, and it is with these we will show you how it will be brought to pass."

Lo, and behold, peoples of the British stock—to Japan belongs the exclusive policy of exclusion!

Seriously, is it not time we stopped this nonsense? Really, it is quite unreasonable, and it is not a fair proposition. But it will not be stopped by Natal Acts, nor by the patriotic selflessness of London financiers, or British Columbian Corporations willing to sell the Empire of the future for the cheaper labour of to-day. There is, however, a remedial measure which, so far as I know, has been entirely overlooked. I have never heard it even suggested. It is so simple and so obvious that it is worth a trial, and that now. Let the Anglo-Saxon peoples adopt the whole Japanese policy of exclusion. Let Canada and Australasia and the United States, as regards the disabilities of foreigners, *re-enact the laws of Japan*.

At this point we must give at least some notice to two great principles which, if time permitted, I should discuss more fully.

We must fill up the empty areas of Anglo-Saxon pre-emption.

We must command once more the Pacific Ocean. That means we must have once more a world navy.

It seems imperative that these two measures be adopted at once as non-partisan, patriotic measures of Imperial politics. Filling an Empire as well as defending an Empire is the duty and should be the policy of Empire.

An Imperial policy of migration is one of the next duties of Westminster because it is one of the most urgent needs of the British race. The hit or miss methods we have been pursuing are wholly inadequate to meet the crisis at hand. So far, so good. To be sure, something is better than nothing, but if we think Imperially we cannot think in terms of *laissez faire*. A real Imperialism means, if anything, a planning and ruling mind. It may be the corporate, social, ruling mind of the race, but it must be rational and constructive—and it must *rule*. Here is the plain situation. If you do not fill up your Colonies and yourselves develop their resources they are lost, and if they are lost you are lost. You cannot fill up these Colonies by telling the helpless individuals who belong to our race and blood, and who so deeply need what we have to offer them, to pull themselves up by their boot-straps. An Imperial policy must recognise the obvious solution of two great problems, the one at home and the other abroad, by relieving the congestion of humanity here to occupy and utilise the wasting opportunity yonder.

Colonies and Nature are alike in this—that both abhor a vacuum. If the West does not move into Canada, the East will. If Asia continues to move into the Pacific littoral of the American Hemisphere—as Asia is and has been doing—and if we who now hold the field do nothing in a large and efficient way—an Imperial way—to occupy and develop it, then it is apparent that it is the manifest destiny of the Oriental peoples to widen the yellow zone around the Pacific Ocean until the last greatest ocean is a yellow sea.

For some years I have been making a study of Canada, north and west, with its resources and especially its economic geography—which means, of course, a study of the land with reference to its human interest. I am trying to find out what this country may mean to our race in its future development. In a series of lectures which I have given elsewhere on this subject I have embodied a study of the country on a basis of the growing of wheat. While all the known data are very few and those published are much fewer, and my results therefore are, and must be, more or less of approximations, the general possibilities of the newer parts of Canada show some startling figures. Leaving out the maritime Provinces and the older settled portions of Quebec and Ontario, and, roughly speaking, taking the great clay belt in Northern

Quebec and Ontario, whose waters flow into Hudson Bay, or roughly approximating the area of the ancient Laurentian plateau and all of Canada west of Hudson Bay. I made a study of the prevailing climatic conditions and the nature of the soil—first from my own personal observations extended through several thousands of miles of travel through the Canadian sub-Arctic beyond the frontier, and supplemented by a consideration of all the authentic sources of information known to me from travellers, traders, Hudson Bay employees and North-West Mounted Policemen, together with the principal libraries of Great Britain and Canada, and the Congressional Library at Washington D.C., but more than all else from the records of the splendid corps of scientists and experts operating under the auspices of the Canadian Geological Survey—I have come to the deliberate conclusion that Canada, north and west, as I have described it, contains an area of arable land, reckoned on a wheat-growing basis, with a wheat climate, which will fall not far under an area twice as large as that which furnishes all the wheat grown in the world to-day.

There are other cereals which may be grown several degrees further north than wheat, and the root crops may be grown still further north, so that the agricultural possibilities of the great Dominion are by no means confined to this area of arable land of something like five hundred million acres.

A very large proportion of this vast domain is entirely empty and wholly undeveloped, and some of it unexplored. The question for the British people to decide—and it must be decided pretty soon, and I take it this Institute will have much to say in the decision—is whether this last great opportunity of the Anglo-Saxon race shall be occupied by an Anglo-Saxon civilisation, or be overrun with the hordes of alien and unassimilable peoples. The problem of the white or yellow occupation of Western Canada is both a local and Imperial question. In its local aspect in British Columbia it is a vital one, for we are now face to face with the possibility of being completely overwhelmed by the innumerable surpluses of Asia's billion of people, which more and more, with their own awakening powers and ambitions and knowledge of the wealth to be acquired abroad and, incidentally, starvation to be avoided at home, are bound to pour out in increasing numbers to encroach upon the empty places of the earth. It is rather an easy matter for the unthinking to settle off-hand those questions which grow out of the alien occupation of some part of the Empire, six thousand miles away from the seat of government, but when everything else has been said one fundamental principle remains, and must remain as the basis of every political arrangement, and that is that the people of any part of the Empire—such as British Columbia, or South Africa, or Australia—will have to settle the matter as to who shall and who shall not be admitted to share the riches and blessings of their home domain, and that on the basis of the indisputable right of self-defence. Those people must decide what races shall be admitted within their gates who have got to live with them. This is a fundamental proposition.

Therefore I say that we in British Columbia have determined that so far as we can accomplish it the Pacific Ocean must be a white man's ocean. The Western Hemisphere must be a white man's hemisphere. Let Asia have Asia—indeed, Asia has Asia—but we propose to keep Australasia and the Americas white from Vancouver to Melbourne, from the Horn to the Arctic Archipelago. We shall see to it that the shores of the New Pacific shall be at least half white, and that the islands and continents which lie within her immeasurable waters shall be kept as white as possible. We shall show that the civilisation we have given to the world is one we believe in, and we shall see that it does not yield to the ideals of the yellow man.



If Canada is to produce a great and new race of people and lay the foundations of a great nation—both of which tasks she has not only started out to do, but has given ample promise of doing—it will be not only because here there is a great world movement of men returning to the soil, but that here also is an unconquerable determination to hold up the white man's standard of living, to keep the Canadian people a homogeneous people, and to hold fast to the moral code of nineteen hundred Christian years.

I have said we must command once more the Pacific seas, and if we do this we must have once more a Pacific navy. If Westminster declines to rehabilitate our naval bases on the Pacific Ocean—and at least one of these must be in British Columbia—and if we leave the police patrol of Pacific waters, with its new trade routes, its new harbours and its new commerce, to the navy of an alien race, we are making a mortal mistake of which not only we in British Columbia must pay the price, but all those others as well whose names are still hidden within the scrolls of future time.

Let us make no mistake on this point: there is only one thing in the world to-day which is keeping Canada from being overrun by Asiatics. That is the prestige of Great Britain. There is only one thing in the world to-day which is holding up the prestige of Great Britain. That is the British Navy. Are some of our "Little England" friends talking of a ratio of three to two? We shall do mighty well, with all we have in hand, if we get on with less than three to one.

The time has come for the whole Empire to co-operate in an Imperial naval programme. It is with grief that I say we in Canada are not doing our share. So far our efforts have been a travesty, and some of us are ashamed. But we have our Little Canadians also. You can't have a big nation without some little people. Such are not Empire-builders. They are disintegrators. Their principles lie in the direction of anarchy, and anarchy lies in the direction of defeat. Such people are blind to the one hopeful and fortunate tendency of the day—that toward synthesis, organisation, constructive effort.

The most of us want to do our part in Canada. It is not, at least, a British trait which is willing to take selfish and unfair advantage of Imperial necessity and its back and say to the country which has mothered us with so much love and consideration: "We won't do anything further because you can't do anything else." If we in Canada are worthy of being the nation we talk so much about we will respond to the instinct of *noblesse oblige*. We will decide at once whether we are dependent on the Empire or a partner in the Empire. If we are the one, let us do some less talking. If we are the other, let us get ready to play our part. We want a British navy on the Pacific coast of North America, and it must be an Imperial navy and not a Colonial navy. The thought of our doing anything alone, until we are strong enough to defend ourselves, and perhaps even then—for have we not obligations greater than to ourselves?—is a folly which approaches the quality of a madness, if I use no harsher term. This whole matter of the defence of any part of the Empire must be considered as an Imperial question. The forces which make for unity and organisation are those which make for strength, and success lies in strength. Those tendencies which make toward division of force and division of interest and authority lie in the direction of disintegration and defeat. The time has come for Canada to shoulder her burdens and assume the tasks of world Empire or do less talking about being a nation. Where outside the British Empire is a nation of the world defended by another nation's navy? And where even within that Empire is there another nation willing to have it so? Some philosopher has suggested that the reason the Kaiser withdrew so gracefully from the recent Moroccan situation was because of the menace of the

Canadian Navy. This sounds good enough to be true. I have no apology to make for the Canadian Navy. Perhaps if we had one I might apologise. But I do want to say this much here— that I think I know Canada well enough to be able to say that on the whole she has no desire to remain a parasite in the matter of Imperial defence. It is not our desire in this matter of a navy to be satisfied with a little tin affair of our own, for we understand that our strength and usefulness in the future and our influence upon the world will depend upon our being a self-supporting, self-dependant, self-defending part of that great unit—the world-empire of the British race.

Many Americans are slumbering comfortably in the fool's paradise that the efficiency of their navy will be doubled by the Canal. Whatever else it will do for the American Navy it will double the despatch with which that navy may leave the whole Atlantic coast defenceless. But unless the United States has two navies—unless the British Empire has two navies—California and British Columbia will receive little benefit in the way of defences from the Panama Canal, and without adequate defences their sway is done. Should the United States or Great Britain become engaged with a foe in either hemisphere or on either ocean, the other hemisphere or ocean is all the more liable to attack or to the humiliation of enforced compromise. The very idea of world-empire is inconceivable without that of a world-navy. In recent times there has been no more humiliating illustration of this fact than in the behaviour of Japan in Asia toward every British interest in the Far East. The deliberate slamming of the open door in our complacent faces by our altruistic and honest ally, and that without a protest from us because we are otherwise too much occupied, is one of the tragic episodes of recent political history and one which promises to project results further than I for one dare to look.

You will excuse me, I am sure, if I seem to be in earnest on this point. For frankly I am. British Columbia is the index finger of the British Empire. But that is the finger which is being pinched between the door and the jamb. The situation to-day is not hopeful. I know, of course, what are the compelling causes of our humiliation on the Pacific where we have been sacrificed to the menace of the North Sea. We do not blame you. But whatever the causes, the results are the same—and as disastrous. There is raised here no word of blame. But there must be a word of warning. The cold facts are serious. Facts are things not to be blamed but remedied. The old Greek said: "Don't kick against the facts—you can't do them any harm." So that it is not in the spirit of a captious critic, but in that of a mournful historian, that I tell you that you have dismantled our land defences, and failed to give us new ones. You have abandoned one of the best harbour defences in the Empire at Esquimaux, and you have withdrawn your fleet from our hemisphere. You have left us to the tender mercies of your altruistic ally, your little brown brother, who has already learned to crowd British citizens off our own sidewalks with impunity into British mud. All in all you have accorded us what Burke might have called "a wise and salutary neglect." Should you get into trouble over here, and if Japan becomes aggressive over there—and she is far too aggressive even while you are both sitting amicably under the umbrella of your ill-fated alliance—there is but one recourse—for British Columbia to look to Wall Street for protection (I have not forgotten that Washington was once the capital of the United States), and sometimes we may have to say to the great American Syndicate: "Come over into Macedonia and help us."

This is not a pleasing outlook. Wall Street has some of the characteristics of the fraternity of the late Captain Kidd. The principal difference is that the modern institution has divested itself of the last shred of romance. The earlier buccaneers

were willing to take a chance on their lives. But Wall Street operates behind the door and never yet took something for nothing or gave anything for anything. It has rather too strong a grip on British Columbia now. On the whole we prefer the Old Empire of which we now are, and hope to remain, a part.

That day has now at last arrived in the history of this planet when the impetuous necessity is laid upon us for fundamental thinking and for broad concerted action. We have been too busy in using up the content of our vocabulary over selfish and partisan and trivial interests to find words with which easily to express the seriousness of the new and overwhelming problems which confront us on the threshold of this new era. For this is a new era. We are a long way from having adjusted ourselves to the New World, which one century of applied science has made of the old slaughter pen, which we now call our home. We are still bewildered with the lightning rapidity with which certain phases of progress have been proceeding, and we are still apathetic toward the inertia of other very important relations of life where there has been scarcely any progress at all. If our optimism is presumptuously challenged it is that, with all the undoubted blessings which the worldwide institutions of democracy are bringing us, the world is not being, and cannot be, ruled at its highest level of intelligence. For the better or for the worse this is a proposition which must be reckoned with as a fact, and perhaps an unchanging and unchangeable fact. The late Regius Professor of modern history of Oxford University, Frederick York Powell, said, in what is practically his last word on the study of history, a year before he died, and in the closing words of that wonderful address "A General Survey of Modern History": "Most of you believe in democracy. If there is one thing the study of history shows to be certain it is that *an ignorant democracy cannot last long.*" Another thing he might have added with almost equal force: *A dishonest democracy should not last long.*

I know of no more objectionable fly in the ointment of democracy than that which has made possible the ancient reproach that it is a system under which the nursery runs the household. If my memory serves me, it was old Plato himself who complained that even the poorest intelligence would go to a shoemaker if he wanted a pair of boots made, but that most anybody could run a government. That system must contain something very unintelligent and inadequate which in the United States places a lawyer over the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, or in this country places a civilian in command of the British Navy. When amateurs, no matter how honourable and well-intentioned in the guidance of the ship of State, are placed at the helm (to say nothing about fleets), it is quite time for some one to raise a doubt as to the plenary inspiration of our political creeds, and the infallibility of our institutions. It is largely because of amateurs in politics and misfits in power, amiable and well-intentioned as they are, that the path behind us is strewn with the wrecks of so many a lost opportunity, and that the path in front, I devoutly fear, is paved with more good intentions.

There is cogent reason, therefore, that those of you who have enjoyed the highest privileges the world has to give in mental culture, spiritual refinement, and diversity and profundity of knowledge, should devote yourselves without wearying to those mighty problems which involve no less than the future welfare of mankind. The fundamental ideas of this new era are constructive, increasingly constructive. Here is our hope. Its deepest instinct is toward organisation rather than toward anarchy which is the inevitable outcome of those impulses of the individualist, which are working toward the disorganisation and disjunction and disruption of society, and

which constitute the fundamental weakness of the democracies of the day. The more pity because they have nothing to do with true democracy, and they have always been the death of true democracy. We do not want Home Rule in British Columbia because we prefer to be a part of Canada, which is a component of Empire, and we want to see the integral parts of the Empire closer together rather than further apart. We prefer to work together for high aims rather than against each other for those aims. Crowding events are making this an imperative philosophy, for the loose-jointed and divided nations are doomed to be a prey to the organised races of mankind. I have a vast respect for Adam Smith and the Manchester School and the Ipswich man and those pre-glacial thinkers with their Silurian instincts who founded the philosophy of *laissez faire*. They did their work. But we also have a work to do, of which they never dreamed. Sometimes I am not too sure that we shall do it. We seem to be losing the iron in our blood. Where is the spirit of Drake and Nelson? But, then we may remember that Nelson fought at Trafalgar after Burke had cried almost in despair "The age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded." It may be, too, that the virile, organising, constructive force of the old stock, which made the greatest empire the world has ever seen, has not yet passed away. If it is not dead I hope it will wake pretty soon, for strange times are upon us—of war and rumour of war—of new issues and new world arrangements—of new world-powers arising, young, lusty and ambitious—and perhaps unscrupulous—to challenge our advance. One thing is certain, that every word and every influence which tends to separate, or antagonise, the peoples of our racial stock is withholding the progress of the world. The white races must get together or go to the wall. The British Empire must be consolidated and defended. The Anglo-Saxon peoples must understand that they are one. The whole Teutonic family must know that blood is thicker than water and that an inter-Teutonic war would be an international crime. The man who has been writing some of the wisest things about the great Pacific problem of this generation is the distinguished gentleman who edits your official Journal. Many years ago he wrote about the awakening of Asia before most of the world knew that Asia was rubbing its eyes, and his warnings have been repeated in a series of works, all of importance. Most of his prophecies have come true, and events have followed with singular faithfulness the lines he marked out for them. He called attention to the fact, which we are a long way from having grasped to this day, that events were gathering which would make it necessary for the white races to get together if they wished to retain their supremacy upon the earth.

We in British Columbia are the British Empire on the northern New Pacific. With nothing but salt water and a fortnight between their ports and ours, we, in our area of nearly 400,000 square miles, and with a population not much larger than the city of Seattle, are face to face with as many people more than half of the human race—as live on the whole American Continent north of the Rio Grande. These countless hordes are learning the use of the Western equipment. The most of them are willing to work, and work over hours, for something like sixpence a day. They are thrifty, imitative, hardy, disciplined, and efficient. With their present population, and on the basis of the German conscription, they could put a fighting force of 80,000,000 men upon the fields of war. And when they are no longer coolies, but skilled labourers, which is the inevitable destiny of the Asiatic, they will organise a multitudinous host of industrial workers which, by sheer weight of numbers and cheapness, will overbear and break down the white man's standard of living and bring ruin upon Western industry. This is not all. With the introduction of sanitary and

agricultural science, with the conservation of the limitless resources of Asia. It is likely that the population of that country will be doubled before our grandchildren are all dead.

Those who know Asia best know very well that empty and accessible land will not go begging; and unoccupied and unowned resources will not be let alone by races who number those in their hundreds of millions who are driven ever outward and onward by the hindmost of all necessities, animal hunger.

Again, let us remember that Asia is adopting our democratic ideas and our words without our knowledge and discipline; but this is not to boast too loudly of our discipline, except to say that I would not have the hardihood to deny that, on the whole, Regent Street will compare favourably with the thoroughfares of Peking at the present moment. There can be no doubt that with this unformed Oriental rejuvenescence a new migratory instinct is being born, and a new blind migration is likely to begin which may combine the irrational motives of the Crusades with the irresistible ferocity of Jenghis Khan. In fact we know so little of the psychology of Asia that it is wholly impossible for us to make a forecast of what a race may do which has been asleep for four thousand years, and which all at once has begun to rub sleepy eyes and stretch lusty limbs. Solemn portents lie in a race movement when, as in young China, her student bodies are breaking into the national assembly rooms with petitions wet from their life's blood, singing the *Marseillaise* in the halls of the Manchus.

So far as the empty and undeveloped reaches of our Empire are concerned the awakening of Asia is happening little too soon. I wonder if we are waking too late?

I bring you tidings from the watch-towers of your Imperial outpost on the North Pacific. There are red lights on the sea where the sun sets.



The CHAIRMAN (Sir Godfrey Lagden, K.C.M.G.), before introducing the lecturer, read the following telegram from Lord Charles Beresford:

"To my extreme regret I shall not be able to keep my engagement to take the chair, as Navy Estimates have been put on and I must be in the House to-morrow (Tuesday) night. Please apologise to Mr. Vrooman. I was looking forward to a most interesting evening. I have read his most interesting paper which I entirely agree with and am sorry I could not give my views on it."

It is now my duty to introduce to you the lecturer of the evening, Dr. F. B. Vrooman. Mr. Vrooman was born in the United States and became an American citizen, but the time came when he found it well to go to Canada, where he has now taken up his residence and become a citizen of the Empire and, we are glad to say, a Fellow of this Institute. He has travelled widely on the American Continent, and had some unique experiences, amongst which was a trip 3,000 miles overland in the sub-Arctic region through the headwaters of the Mackenzie basin, particularly in the northern part of British Columbia, and later on in the Yukon. On the return journey Mr. Vrooman came through the Rocky Mountains on a raft, experiencing many weeks and long periods of semi-starvation. These travels and experiences afforded him the material for extended lectures delivered by him before the School of Geography at Oxford and elsewhere on the economic geography of Northern and Western Canada. As a result of his work in this direction and in recognition of its merits, the University of Oxford conferred upon him a Science Degree. Mr. Vrooman has given extensive study to the resources of North America, and is making that subject his speciality. His lecture this evening, dealing largely with it, will be found both interesting and instructive.

After the Paper the following discussion took place:

MR. A. J. DAWSON: It is no more than the statement of a self-evident fact to say that we have all been deeply interested by Dr. Vrooman's paper and that we are grateful to him for reading it. For my part, as I listened to these eloquent words from the outposts of the Empire's Pacific frontier—its only Pacific frontier—the thought came to me that the Royal Colonial Institute—the Greater British or United Empire Institute as I hope to hear it more fittingly called one day—could not possibly discharge its functions more fully and happily than in the provision of an open platform for just such Greater Britons as the reader of to-night's paper. I do not say that merely because Dr. Vrooman has the combined claims upon us of the scholar, the student, the traveller, and the man of letters. For that matter, I entertain the hope that in the days to come we may number among our Fellows in the Institute all manner of quite unlearned but practical British workers of every class, who will give us the benefit of their special knowledge in the work of strengthening Empire unity. But the reason I had in mind with regard to the appropriateness of this evening's meeting was that it has so emphatically given us, regarding one of the most vitally important divisions of the Empire, the views of a man on the spot—the views of a man who really knows the ground at first hand and thoroughly. It has been my own good fortune to visit our Pacific frontier a number of times, approaching it both from Australia, across the Pacific, and from the three thousand mile Canadian road which begins in Halifax. And I feel that to-night's paper has taught me much that was worth knowing, as I believe it has taught every one in this room—some more, some less.

Dr. Vrooman tells us there are red lights—danger lights—on that beautiful sunset sea which laps our Western frontier. The fact is known to many of us. But there is a difference between knowing a thing—as we know, for instance, that unity means strength, and disunion means weakness—and truly realising that thing, as one does in listening to such an exposition of it as we have had to-night. And, unfortunately, the British public are not all members of this Institute. It should be our task, I think, each one to extend, so far as he or she is able, the circle reached by Dr. Vrooman

thought; not merely to pigeon-hole another item of information in our own mind, but to carry on realisation of it to some section, however small, of the great outside public that big, well-meaning, careless, British public upon whose speedy and clear realisation of certain matters depends, it may be, the whole destiny of one-fifth of the world's people and land: and that by long odds the most important fifth, because the one which stands for true progress, true justice, true civilisation. If it were not for that, our responsibility would be infinitely less. But I believe no member of this Institute can doubt the verity of that factor which makes Anglo-Saxon continuity so vitally important to humanity.

With regard to those warning danger-lights in British Columbia I pin my faith, personally, to the solution which Rudyard Kipling put into four words when he visited that beautiful coast: "Pump in the whites." One hesitates to presume upon any iteration of a master's words, or I would paraphrase it: "Pump in the Britons."

That is to put it in the very simplest, shortest words. Later come qualification. To be of any profit to British Columbia, to the Empire, or to himself, the settler has to be something more than simply British-born. He needs to have the best, not the worst, of our traditions in his veins. The wastrel and the degenerate are no use there, and there is no place or welcome for them there. But so tonic are the life and air of that garden of Canada, that the children of even the most unfortunate unions may achieve success there if they go young enough, and before the poison of degeneracy has had its way with them. "Pump in the Britons"—yes; but pump intelligently: pump the right kind. British Columbia should help the pumping, and so should we in this country. So should our Government. And, until the time comes when our Government so far awakens to its duties as to establish a State Department of Imperial Migration, there is much that every member of this Institute can do toward helping toward the good work.

One aspect of it I would submit particularly to your consideration. In this country there are a million and a half more women than men. The army of what Gissing called "the odd women" is tragically large. There is real tragedy in this, though it is the fashion to ignore it. And the tragedy of it has a more intimate bearing than most people know upon certain recent unhappy scenes in our streets and police courts. Do not think that I am about to advocate populating British Columbia with militant suffragists—though, mind you, there is a magnificent field for surplus energy in that country—but I do want to point out that in Western Canada there are fully a million more men than women. I do want to say that British Columbia has room and welcome, employment and abundant opportunities for tens of thousands of healthy British women, and that those women—in the majority here—would find their presence immensely appreciated and a most potent social and Imperial factor there. Settlement overseas is not a thing for the sons only, but very emphatically a vocation for the daughters and sisters of our stock.

If I may trespass just another minute on your patience, it will be upon a point of business. If I may say so, we give too much attention to the sentiment and theory of the wider patriotism, and too little to its practice. And that is the more foolish of us because thereby we forego the perfectly legitimate rewards pertaining to right understanding of our Imperial heritage. To put it quite brutally, and in the language of the City, I am perfectly convinced that, cent. per cent., there is more profit to be made out of judicious investment within the British Empire to-day than anywhere in the world outside of it. And there is no finer field for the investor than Western Canada. Now, a man's interest automatically clings to the source of his income. This applies to the capitalist, small and large. Don't forget that it applies with added force to the prospector, the pioneer, the developing agent—the Greater Briton whose enterprise overseas needs capital. If long correspondence and patient waiting bring him no response from his native England, and a postcard brings the dollars that set his life's enterprise free—from Wall Street—then that man's interests

will have an inevitable tendency to run north and south rather than east and west; and, by just so much, our Empire links are weakened. British men, British women, British hands, British gold, British brains, and British co-operation—these, I think, represent the best safeguards we can offer the Empire's Pacific frontier.

Admiral the Hon. Sir EDMUND FREMANTLE, G.C.B., C.M.G. (who had taken the chair in succession to Sir Godfrey Lagden): I am sorry I have been compelled to cut short some of the speakers, and still more sorry that I have not been able to call upon others who were well qualified to address us on the subject. At this late hour I cannot go into the merits of the lecture, but I might just touch on the naval question. I was glad to hear what Mr. Mackinder said on the subject. I regret that we should have withdrawn our ships so entirely from the Pacific, for I feel that in doing so we were making practically a declaration of weakness and one that would leave distant parts of the Empire to consider they were not as much appreciated as they ought to be. It is just possible, I have sometimes thought, that there was a Machiavellian reason for this step, namely, that we should make distant parts of the Empire feel that if they wanted protection they must aid in protecting themselves. The paper was one of the most interesting, eloquent, and humorous papers to which I have ever had the pleasure of listening. If Dr. Vrooman painted in somewhat lurid colours the dangers to which British Columbia and Canada are exposed, it is something to have them brought before us and to have it shown we must be prepared for certain eventualities; and we in this Institute are able to point out certain things which can be said much more plainly perhaps than in the House of Commons or anywhere else. As regards what is commonly called the "Yellow Peril," I think I know something of China and Japan, and I consider that some of the words used by Mr. Mackinder and Mrs. Clare FitzGibbon were very much to the point. It is a great mistake and perhaps rather an ignorant mistake to look upon the yellow races as similar or on all black races as similar. The fact is they have different views. They have their differences just as much as we have. The difference between Chinese and Japanese are immense. There may be a certain amount of sympathy between Orientals, as there is between Europeans, but they do not all agree exactly and are not prepared to make common cause and unite in war against the white races.

Dr. VROOMAN, replying to a vote of thanks, said: Judging from some of the remarks made this evening there seems to be a disposition—and one which in British Columbia seems to be strongly suspected as existing here—that you are quite willing to sacrifice us to your more immediate interests under the guise of Imperial necessity. Of course, if it ever comes to the point of an Imperial necessity, British Columbia will be willing to make all the sacrifices which reasonably can be expected of her. But we shall strenuously object to being made a sacrifice to the political blunder of an alliance which, whatever it may have been, cannot be considered now in any sense as an Imperial asset. These amiable ladies and gentlemen who wish us to pull your chestnuts out of the fire seem to be very indifferent as to whether our Province shall remain in the Empire or shall, either literally or to all intents and purposes, be turned over to the exploitation of an alien and unassimilable race. I wish to say to you here that Canada and British Columbia have less to lose on that proposition than you have. Please do not forget for a moment that we in Canada are the only self-sufficing nation in the British Empire, and that such sentiments emanating from London will do nothing to cement the ingredients of Empire—a process which seems now to be so necessary to the destiny of the people of our race. Their type of altruism reminds me forcibly of the patriotism exhibited a generation ago in the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War, when the late Artemus Ward sprang to the front and declared his willingness to sacrifice all his wife's relations to put down the rebellion.

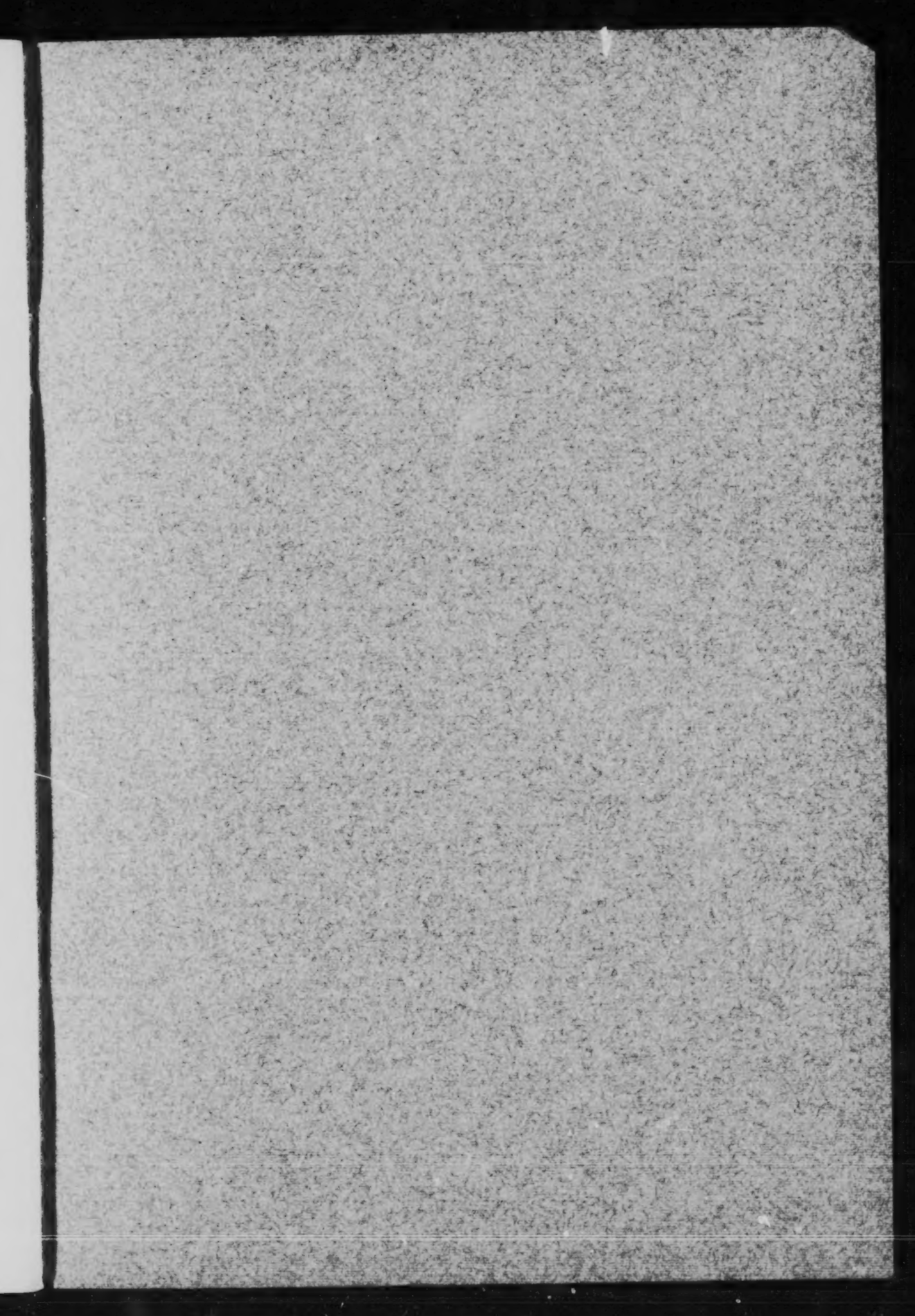
I have listened with great interest to the remarks of Mr. Dawson. The situation is so obvious that his argument is conclusive, and among the other movements for the development of that end of the world I hope that some definite and rational plans will be made for sending large numbers of what he has so aptly called "the odd women" of this country to help the "odd men" of our country, who are famishing for their society, to make the country what it ought to be, and to help keep the population British.

In considering British Columbia and its rapid and phenomenal progress it is almost impossible to overestimate the part played in its upbuilding by that able and constructive statesman, the Hon. Richard McBride, Premier of the Province. In a series of remarkable speeches quite recently Mr. McBride has outlined the railroad policy of his Administration, from which we understand that the 640 miles of railroad in operation in 1904 will within five years be increased to 4,000 miles, and that it is the intention of the Government in due time to assist in the construction of a railroad which will bring the southern part of the Province in touch with the Peace river country. This will open up a vast area of as yet undeveloped territory and, together with the opening of the Panama Canal, will enable the progress of the Province to advance by leaps and bounds.

On the Island of Vancouver there are at present 150 miles of railroad now in operation, and in five years from now this will be increased to 700 miles, while there are already 1,000 miles of automobile roads on the Island as good as Oxford Street.

We are laying the foundations for large development and large things in British Columbia. Everywhere, more or less clearly defined, may be found the spirit to which, in a moment of profound insight, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain gave expression when he said: "The day of nations is gone, and the day of empires has come." This means that the day of synthesis has dawned on the politics of the world, and that more and more the political ideals and efforts of our politicians are to lie toward better organisation and constructive statecraft. Indeed, recent events have forced the acceptance of this principle upon us, for we must get together or go to the wall. We must think imperially, and act imperially. We must recognise the unity of our race and of our racial ideals, and work out our political reorganisation in the better consolidation and completer defence of the British Empire. I believe that we are equal to this task. I believe in the old stock. I believe the Empire is bound to go on. May it please God and the British Navy.

A vote of thanks was given to Sir Godfrey Lagden and to Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle for presiding.





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